FILMS RECORDS BOOKS

THE Nation

November 27, 1954
20¢

D. F. Fleming

Ways to Coexist

Charles P. Taft

Challenge to Congress

The Free-Trade Issue

The Consular Curtain *J. Campbell Bruce*

Dance of the Hobgoblins *F. L. Schuman*

Three Books on Foreign Policy

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

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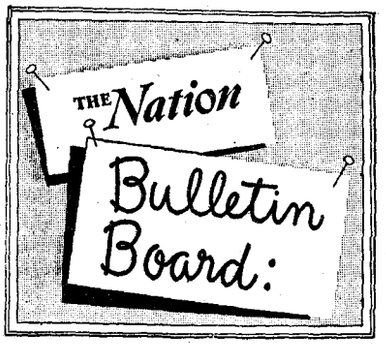

WHILE G. A. T. T., read as a word, has a martial flavor, actually the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade is designed for strictly pacific purposes, as is pointed out in this issue by Charles P. Taft. It is interesting that the author, a distinguished Republican leader, does not go along with the traditional protectionist policies of his party. Mr. Taft testified as an expert at hearings in Washington which preceded the departure of the American delegation to the meeting of G. A. T. T. signatories in Geneva.

NEXT WEEK *The Nation* will publish a special High Fidelity issue. A group of articles will deal with the economics of the industry, the cultural impact of high fidelity, and other important aspects of the subject. They have been contributed by such experts as Peter Bartok, David Hall, and James Hinton, Jr.

COMING ISSUES will contain many other articles of special interest. In the December 4 issue Nathaniel Peffer, professor of international relations at Columbia University, author of the "Basis for Peace in the Far East" and other books, warns against delay in reaching a settlement in Asia and makes some constructive proposals. In the December 11 issue Allen Seager—echoes of the discussion aroused by his provocative article, Our Dream of Comfort, in the last Civil Liberties issue still linger—will have another brilliant article. It is an exploration into the character of the American business man as portrayed in some recent novels—not including Mr. Seager's own study of a business man, "Amos Berry."

FORMER AMBASSADOR CLAUDE BOWERS writes us about the reception of his newly published book "My Mission to Spain." The Swedish papers, he says, "amazed me with three elaborate laudatory reviews, and on the first of these hangs an amusing tale. A Spanish football team in Stockholm to play a Swedish team got a telegram from General Mascardo of the Franco government ordering it not to go into the field because the Swedish paper had refused to apologize for the review." Undoubtedly the first time in the history of sports that a football game was held up by a book review.

EACH MONTH the Bulletin Board awards a copy of the current selection of our book club, The Nation's Choice, to readers who send in the best items for use in this column. This month there are three winners, and they will receive "Ideas and Opinions" the new book by Albert Einstein. (The book will be distributed to club members in December.)

Clark Bouwman, of the Department of Sociology at Illinois Wesleyan University, culled the following from the Bloomington *Daily Pantagraph:*

"While the more than 200 Knife and Fork Club members still whispered about the delicious ginger-ale salad that was served, the author of the best-selling 'Berlin Diary' [William L. Shirer] told them there are indications the Nazi doctrine is still alive in Germany."

A Los Angeles subscriber submitted this transcript of a phone conversation with a member of the Los Angeles Board of Education during, as he put it, "the height of the board's purge season."

Caller: "Is Mr. G—— in?"

Answer: "No, he's not in his office at the moment."

Caller: "Is he expected back soon?"

Answer: "Well he's in a special meeting right now—let's see, it's on 'Patriotism and American Ideals'—it shouldn't take long."

Matilda W. Welter of Bennington College, Vermont, picked up the following in the New York *Times.* Senator William E. Jenner was urging the establishment by private organizations of special red-hunting committees. "You know, as I do, that this task cannot be left to your government alone," he said. "The F. B. I. and the Department of Justice have to work with legal evidence."

MARTIN SOLOW

Letters

Supreme Court Record

Dear Sirs: Many thanks to *The Nation* and C. Herman Pritchett for his excellent article, The Supreme Court and Our Civil Liberties, in the October 9 issue.

Of exceptional interest was the table which presented the record of individual justices. My only regret is that the author did not indicate which of the justices were appointed by Roosevelt, which by Truman. For the worst of Roosevelt's justices was a better friend of civil liberties than Truman's best—Reed 18 per cent, Minton 15 per cent.

Truman's Supreme Court appointments, along with the Smith Act prosecutions and the loyalty program, make me gag when I see him called an "elder statesman" of liberalism. As Alan Barth pointed out in "Loyalty of Free Men," "all that McCarthy did was to carry to its cynical extreme the debasement of values begun by the [Truman] Administration for lofty purposes."

RALPH WETZEL

Albuquerque, N. M.

The Real Purpose

Dear Sirs: To the discerning it was clear from the first that the real purpose behind the anti-Communist crusade in America was not so much the crushing of the small Communist contingent as the enforcement of acquiescence in illiberal policies at home and abroad. The success of this crusade is beyond what its organizers had a right to expect in democratic America.

There are many evidences of this success. The spirit of the New Deal has been crushed; our economy, with its miraculous techniques and resources, is stagnating instead of expanding; and an army of marauders has descended like locusts on our body politic. The story of this raid on the national wealth, as told in the "Giveaway" issue [October 2] of *The Nation* makes Teapot Dome look like the theft of a mink coat.

Abroad, the United States, once looked up to and loved as the home of a free and brave people and the friend of the oppressed, is losing its good name. Our support of colonialism, our shoring up of corrupt feudal regimes, and our inflexible, sterile foreign policy have put our sincerity and even our sanity in question. Creative, challenging, fearless America, once the hope of the world, now stands paralyzed, the butt of foreign hatreds and gibes.

Unless the atmosphere of fear is lifted so that good men can freely criticize and suggest alternatives, we shall be in even greater danger. McCarthy may be on his way out, but McCarthyism, which antedates the Senator, survives. For a revitalized America and a world that wishes to continue to exist the "ism" must be got rid of too.

DAVID L. WEISSMAN

New York

Felix S. Cohen Prize

Dear Sirs: Felix S. Cohen's untimely death brought a great volume of tributes from persons who had known him or his work. Many of his friends have suggested the establishment of a suitable permanent memorial and have volunteered to contribute for the purpose. A committee has been organized to provide a focus for the establishment of such a memorial.

After considering a wide variety of suggestions, the committee, in recognition of

(Continued on page 472)

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THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

An Open Letter to Senator Watkins

Dear Senator: Considering the unscrupulous tactics of the opposition, you may be more embarrassed than pleased to receive an accolade from liberal sources. Yet if ten million Americans are asked to speak up for Senator McCarthy, you must expect that other millions will want to speak up for you, among them many individuals who do not agree with you politically. Basically the fight in which you are now engaged has nothing to do with politics; it is a struggle for morality, integrity, and courage in public life. Whatever the outcome, the American people will long remember you as one who held firmly to principle over party and who refused to retreat from the firing-line to the hospital even under the stress of genuine physical suffering.

You have added more stature to the American Senate than your opponents can ever take away.

EDITORS THE NATION

NOTE: Readers of The Nation *who feel as we do about Senator Watkins are invited to send him a wire or a card, or to announce support for him to one of their own Senators.*

The Soviets and Admiral Mahan

The sinking by Chinese Communist torpedo boats of a Chinese Nationalist warship off the Tachen Islands on November 14 may be regarded in retrospect as the opening gambit in a new test of Admiral Mahan's "command of the seas" doctrine. The Soviets do not accept this doctrine; they have a sea-power concept of their own. They believe that a great land power such as the U. S. S. R. can control the seas around Eurasia despite the powerful American navy if "a zone of naval superiority" can be established for varying distances offshore. Under these circumstances, they argue, even the most powerful "high-seas fleet" can no longer count on control of the seas. Writing in the Soviet magazine *Military Thought* some years ago, Admiral V. Alafuzov pointed out that "naval battles are decided nowadays not only by major craft but also by air power, submarines, small torpedo craft, and—close inshore—by seacoast artillery. And also, the closer the engagement to friendly bases, the greater the variety of naval ships and other resources that can be brought to bear." Formosa, with its supporting islands, would provide a perfect setting for the test of this theory. While there is no proof that such a test is under way, the Soviet theory warrants a good deal more attention here than it has thus far received.

Naguib to Nasser to Chance

In terms of power the ousting of General Naguib from the presidency of Egypt on November 14 made no difference; he had been shoved aside long before by the junta of military officers, headed by Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser, that runs the country. But his dismissal, under charge of complicity in the October 26 attempt by Moslem Brotherhood terrorists to assassinate Colonel Nasser, was important on other grounds. It served as a dramatic announcement that the Revolutionary Command Council headed by Nasser could now afford to rid itself of the popular general who symbolized the national uprising which had deposed King Farouk, and also of the troublesome fanatics who have violently opposed every measure of change instituted by the present regime.

The absence of any serious public reaction either to the ousting of Naguib or to the sweeping round-up of suspect members of the Moslem Brotherhood testifies to Nasser's present political dominance. Reports from Western journalists in Cairo indicate that both events, as the New York *Times* correspondent put it, "are regarded by impartial observers as stabilizing actions." So they may be. Acting as both Premier and pro tem Chief of State, Colonel Nasser signed on November 20 the long-delayed Suez Agreement with Britain; and he is now supposed to be pushing a series of reforms designed, with the help of $40,000,000 granted by the United States, to improve Egypt's miserable standard of life and modernize its archaic economy.

Yet one-man rule is seldom a very dependable basis for democratic change. Long before the ousting of Naguib, Nasser and his officer henchmen had carried out a purge of three leading universities; arrests and beatings of Jews on charges of pro-Zionism had multiplied; and the regime's basic attitude toward the West was revealed in a series of vicious attacks on France. Back in Septem-

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In This Issue

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 453

Unser Kameraden
by Victor H. Bernstein 455

ARTICLES

The Time for Talks:
Before or After Ratification?
by J. A. del Vayo 456

Ways to Coexist:
Ideas Must Go with Arms
by D. F. Fleming 457

Challenge to Congress:
The Free-Trade Issue
by Charles P. Taft 460

Consular Curtain:
A Ruinous Visa Policy
by J. Campbell Bruce 462

Land and Leftism: Italy Below Naples
by Gina Racca 464

Experiment in the South
by A. G. Mezerik 465

BOOKS

Dance of the Hobgoblins
by Frederick L. Schuman 466

A Housewife on the Atom
by Earl Ubell 467

Bard in a Pub *by Harold Clurman* 468

Selected New Books: Miscellaneous
by Jacob Korg 470

FILMS *by Robert Hatch* 470

RECORDS *by B. H. Haggin* 471

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 595
by Frank W. Lewis opposite 472

BULLETIN BOARD
by Martin Solow opposite 453

LETTERS opposite 453

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ber the semi-official daily *Al Gomhouria* announced "a new plot against the Arabs being woven in France with Mendès-France, a Jew by descent and a Zionist by creed, as the prime mover"; and on the following day its editor repeated the slander, referring to the French Premier as "this little Zionist imperialist Jew." That the earnest attempt of Mendès-France to extend autonomy to Tunisia, in agreement with Tunisian Nationalist leaders, is being daily sabotaged by propaganda and orders broadcast from Cairo is evidence enough of Nasser's hostility. And the recent revolt in Algeria is directed from the same headquarters.

In addition Nasser and his Revolutionary Command are responsible for the continuing border warfare with Israel, as they are for the economic blockade which resulted in the seizure of the freighter Bat Galim in the Suez Canal on September 28 and the arrest of its crew—an act of aggression now before the Security Council. So the realities of military dictatorship are not as assuring as Colonel Nasser's admirers would have us think. Above all they are not evidences of "stability," or of friendship for the "free world"; and above all they should demonstrate the dangerous folly of putting modern weapons into the hands of men who will use them for only two purposes—to maintain themselves in power and to attack Israel.

Raising False Issues

That Senator McCarthy is engaged in a desperate struggle for political survival hardly excuses the attempt of his partisans to make it appear that he is being "persecuted" because of his religious faith. That the charge is false even Senator McCarthy concedes. But it is being given the color of authenticity by some zealous Catholics. Some weeks back we pointed out that the columnist John O'Donnell objected to the make-up of the Senate committee which was hearing the censure charges on the ground that its members represented states in which Catholic political influence was negligible. More recently, posters exhorting firemen to rally in Washington in support of Senator McCarthy, issued by an affiliate of the Knights of Columbus, were distributed in some New York fire stations. Still more recently, Msgr. Edward R. Martin, introduced as a representative of Cardinal Spellman, told a Catholic War Veterans communion breakfast that a fund of $5,000,000 had been raised "to kick Joe out" and went on to say: "The reason is solely because of his Catholic ideals." To date, Cardinal Spellman has not replied to the question addressed to him by seven members of the Colgate University faculty: "Do you really want the American people to believe that the Catholic Church identifies the widespread concern over preservation of the Bill of Rights with opposition to Catholic ideals?" While Senator McCarthy was being

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presented by the Catholic War Veterans with 250,000 signatures to a petition protesting the censure resolution, Clarence E. Manion, former dean of Notre Dame University Law School, was telling the Laymen's League of the Bishop Molloy Retreat House in New York that the resolution amounted to "the official commission of treason" since it "gave aid and comfort to the Communist enemy." Fortunately enough prominent Catholics have opposed Senator McCarthy to offset, to some extent, the effect of these inflammatory statements. But those who have made them will have only themselves to blame should the charges be taken seriously.

Unser Kameraden . . *Victor H. Bernstein*

IT IS highly unlikely that Baron Constantin von Neurath, recently released from Spandau prison, will again become Germany's foreign minister or the Reich Protector for Bohemia and Moravia. Eighty-one and ailing, he may produce his memoirs, hardly more; and whether he dies in jail or at home is a matter of indifference to the millions whom he helped to send to their deaths in World War II. Yet his release, and particularly the manner in which it was greeted in Germany, cannot lightly be passed over. It is symptomatic of the astonishing circle we have come since the days of early 1945, when the fetid odor of the charnel house still hung over Germany, and twelve German divisions stood for death and torture, not salvation.

I remember von Neurath at the major war-crimes trial at Nuremberg. Silver-haired and handsome, he was the impeccable aristocrat. His voice was soft, his manner restrained; one sensed the aloofness with which he regarded most of his fellow-prisoners with whom, in truth, he had little in common except his guilt. In fairness it must be said that he did not kill as many people directly as others in the dock; had he done so, he would have been hanged with them. Yet in what he did do, he was more contemptible than any, for he was a man of intelligence and breeding, an experienced diplomat of cosmopolitan background, who could argue neither ignorance nor fanaticism in his own defense. His unique value to the Nazis was emphasized at the Nuremberg trial by the late Justice Jackson, who was chief of the American prosecution:

> Therein lies the special crime and betrayal of men like Schacht and von Neurath. . . . It is doubtful whether the Nazi master plan could have succeeded without their specialized intelligence which they so willingly put at its command. Their superiority to the average run of Nazi mediocrity is not their excuse. It is their condemnation.

Von Neurath was Hitler's foreign minister from 1933 to 1938, when he became Minister Without Portfolio in the Reich cabinet. He participated directly in the planning of the conquests of Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. He personally assured the Czechs that they had "nothing to fear" after the fall of Austria; and he played his part in reassuring the Poles after Czechoslovakia had fallen. In 1939 he became Reich Protector for Bohemia and Moravia, and in a memorandum dated October, 1940, he made clear his ideas as to the future of the area he commanded:

> Assimilation of the Czechs, i. e., absorption of about half the Czech nationality by the Germans, in so far as this is valuable from a racial or other standpoint. The other half of the Czech nationality must be deprived of its power, eliminated, and shipped out of the country by all sorts of methods. This applies particularly to the racially mongoloid part, and to the major part of the intellectual class. . . . Elements which counteract the planned Germanization are to be handled roughly and should be eliminated.

I recall a November afternoon at Nuremberg when the courtroom was darkened by blinds drawn over the windows and a documentary film, taken by the Allied armies in various extermination camps, was shown on a screen placed where the defendants could see it. Leipzig and Penig were shown, Nordhausen and Hadamar, Dachau and Belsen. Across the screen flowed an endless river of charred bones and white bodies—bodies with ribs sticking out, with pipestem legs and battered skulls and eyeless faces and grotesque thin arms reaching for the sky. That evening Dr. G. M. Gilbert, American prison psychologist, talked with the prisoners, and in his "Nuremberg Diary" he notes: "Von Neurath didn't have much to say. Simply pointed out that he was not in power when all this went on." Von Neurath was telling the truth, in a way, for while he remained in the Hitler Cabinet until the end of the war, he was comparatively inactive after 1943. But by that time he had already made his contribution: many of the bones he saw that November afternoon were those of the "racially mongoloid" Czechs he had shipped out of Bohemia and Moravia by "all sorts of methods."

This was the man whose release from prison was hailed by President Heuss of the West German Republic as a release from "martyrdom." Cancellor Adenauer sent him a warmly congratulatory telegram, his townsfolk gathered on the lawn to welcome him home, and his

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neighbor's children gave him small bunches of flowers.

With one or two exceptions, what little editorial comment appeared in the American press on von Neurath's release was in the "humanitarian" vein: Of what use to make an old man, incapable of further crime, die in prison? Well, one use might have been simply as a rebuff to the unregenerate Germans who wanted him out. For of course the pressures to free him came from the Germans themselves; the greetings from Heuss and Adenauer are merely proof that the unregenerates are numerous enough to constitute a powerful political entity in the Federated Republic. And what is true of West Germany is also true in East Germany. In proposing his release the supposedly implacable Russians also bent to the neo-Nazi winds blowing across all of Germany.

But if so many Germans have the strength to be unrepentant, why have not the Allies the strength to resist them? It cannot be that we have so soon forgotten the abattoir that Hitler made of Europe. Certainly the soldiers remember, and the survivors of the camps, and the peoples of the occupied countries. And as for the United States, surely a country with memory good enough to recall what actor belonged to which organization in 1935, or who told Dr. Oppenheimer what in 1941, cannot have forgotten the lessons of Nuremberg. No, it is not a matter of memory; it is rather a matter of brain-washing, a monstrous and frighteningly successful manipulation of the mass mind. The needs of the cold war have been so drilled into our consciousness that there is room for nothing else.

I think of Lord Russell's book, "The Scourge of the Swastika," which has just been published. It is a scholarly, moving, terrifying account of the Nazis' war crimes. Through no fault of the author, it is also a useless book. None of the reviews I read put it in the context of what is happening today. No reviewer thought to point out that the perpetrators of the horrors recounted will form the cadres of the 500,000 of *unser Kameraden* who are now to be rearmed in Germany.

There is an indecency here that does not bear thinking about. In all the tumult over the rearmament of Bonn, how many voices are raised to say not that it is practical or impractical, dangerous or not dangerous, necessary or not necessary—but simply to say that it is morally wrong? Who is there to cry out that the last victory any peoples may ever win in a war has already turned to ashes?

THE TIME FOR TALKS

Before or After Ratification? . . *by J. A. del Vayo*

United Nations

DAG HAMMARSKJOLD, U. N. Secretary General, faithfully reflected the dominant mood of the delegates to the General Assembly when he told an Advertising Council dinner last week that the danger of a third world war was receding as the magnitude of the disaster it would create became more apparent. A series of recent events has helped dispel the gloom and skepticism that characterized previous Assembly sessions. One of them, to begin with the United Nations itself, was Russia's acceptance of a Western invitation to serve on the committee charged with making arrangements for an international conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy. Another, outside the U. N., was President Eisenhower's rejection of the demand voiced by Senator Knowland that something be done before Russia and the United States reach an atomic stalemate—a situation that for all practical purposes has already taken place and produced conciliatory statements, some accompanied by deeds, from both sides.

It is in this atmosphere of exceptional self-confidence, that I would like to analyze the Soviet proposal of November 13. It is not pleasant to sound a discordant note when most people appear to be so relieved, but it must be done for the record.

The twelve-hundred-word note calling for a conference on European security in Moscow or Paris on November 29 was promptly dismissed in Western capitals as another obvious maneuver to prevent or postpone ratification of the Paris treaties. But quite another interpretation is possible. The short notice originally given by Moscow, as well as Russia's subsequent willingness to delay the date if the West wanted more time to prepare, can be taken as evidence of the seriousness with which the Soviet government regards ratification of the Paris agreements and tends to refute the glib theory that as long as Moscow retains its hold on East Germany it will take philosophically the reestablishment of full sovereignty for West Germany, its rearmament, and its new status as a member of NATO.

The request for a big-power discussion on Germany and European security before the new *Wehrmacht* begins to take shape was not in itself sensational. It was Moscow's fourth such proposal since the Berlin conference. Obviously it had its limitations. Several U. N. delegates basically sympathetic to the idea of a general negotiation deplored the absence from the Soviet note of specific offers on Germany which would have forced the hand of even the most ardent partisans of "ratification first." But the widening of the list of countries invited to encompass the twenty-three European states with which the Soviet Union maintains diplomatic relations revealed the

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depth of Russia's determination to rally support for its fight against ratification. Also, the inclusion of the United States as an active participant—while China was invited only to send an observer—should not be minimized. It was a reassuring gesture toward those Western countries which for various reasons want this country as a full partner in any European settlement. It will be remembered that in Mr. Molotov's original proposal of a security treaty, made at the Berlin conference, the Americans, like the Chinese, were offered the status of observers.

By addressing themselves to such a large audience the Russians know that, whatever the fate of their initiative, a great number of people within each country, and not only Communists or neutralists, will again raise the question whether this overture ought not to have been used as the occasion for a new attempt to negotiate. That is exactly what the leader of the German Socialists, Erich Ollenhauer, and other important persons and groups in West Germany are demanding.

Europe's chancelleries found it quite easy to reject the Russian note and to reiterate their decision not to open discussions with Moscow on Germany until after ratification of the Paris pacts. In his statement before the House of Commons, Foreign Secretary Eden seemed to give little weight to Moscow's warning of "new measures" against the rearmament of West Germany or to the series of editorials in *Pravda, Izvestia,* and *Trud* which have taken a progressively stiffer tone. The idea of a process of ratification "paralleling" negotiations with the Russians has now definitely been abandoned even by Premier Mendès-France, as is evident from the joint French-American communiqué issued at the end of the Washington talks.

UNDERLYING the confident attitude on the part of the Western powers is the apparent conviction that, no matter what they may say, the realistic Soviet leaders will be only too ready to talk after the treaties are ratified. But such an experienced and moderate analyst of foreign affairs as Pertinax thinks differently. In *France-Soir* of November 16 he wrote:

> We find the press in general animated by a spirit of optimism, encouraged by official diplomacy. After all, it is said, the Kremlin will have to accommodate itself to the *fait accompli.* But the fact remains that the Soviet leaders consider German rearmament, carried out without even a previous consultation with them, as an act directed against their country and against the People's Democracies. It is quite obvious that the Soviet Union will never accept either the formation of a German army within the Atlantic alliance or the reappearance of an armed Germany that has not renounced once and for all the territories beyond the Oder and Neisse.

The caption on the Pertinax article read: "It is by no means certain that the Russians will be willing to negotiate after the ratification of the Paris treaties."

Of course it is possible that some years might elapse before the fateful consequences of German rearmament became fully evident. Conciliatory moves in other directions—for example, in the domain of trade and cultural exchanges and in the work of the United Nations—might continue to lighten the hearts of the majority. But as long as the division of Germany continues and the German problem retains its explosive potentialities, such an era of optimism would have little substance. And the day when the idyl ends and the conflict breaks out with the additional fury that a revived German nationalism will inject into it, those statesmen like Sir Anthony Eden who have resolutely refused to take seriously the warnings of Moscow may regret the exuberance that has accompanied the latest victory of the "diplomacy of strength."

WAYS TO COEXIST

Ideas Must Go with Arms . . *by D. F. Fleming*

THE objective evidence that a long period of coexistence with the Communist world lies ahead is overwhelming. The after-convulsions of World War II seem to be over except in Germany and Formosa, and the German conundrum appears on the way to solution without war. To think otherwise is to contemplate the slaughter of thirty or forty million Americans and the destruction of our industrial society, while Europe suffers comparable ruin from London to Stalingrad. Because both sides know this, there is little likelihood that "negotiations from strength" can push either side out of Germany; only give-and-take negotiations, promising victory to neither, are likely to settle the problem.

Can sufficient statesmanship be mustered to avoid world catastrophe over Formosa? There is no reason to doubt Communist China's grim determination to recover the island in order to end the challenge of counter-revolution offered by it. Several years of industrialization may be necessary to enable Peking to accumulate sufficient planes, ships, and weapons to attempt an all-out invasion. In the meantime we must make up our minds whether we want to fight a world war for Chiang Kai-shek. No great power, we should realize, can continue to tolerate bombing and blockading by a small native faction backed by a foreign power.

If war can be avoided over Formosa, there is good reason to believe that Communist China would settle down to several decades of intensive internal development, as the Soviet Union seems desirous of doing. Both have more than enough to do at home without risking

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the horrors of atomic war in external adventures. It is this very prospect of a long period of internal consolidation and growth for the two giant Communist states that is intolerable to many of us, particularly those who have strong emotions about China. Resentment against humiliations suffered in Korea and Indo-China combines with fear of future Communist power to make many Americans determined never to recognize Peking and to insist that we break off relations with Russia before we are forced to negotiate settlements of the German and Formosan problems. For these Americans, Senator Knowland is perhaps the most influential spokesman.

But to follow such a course would lose us our allies and the support of a large group of nations which tend increasingly to cry, "A plague on both your houses." As Thomas J. Hamilton reported in the New York *Times* on October 31, "Not only is the world tiring of the 'cold war,' but there is mounting apprehension about what would happen in a hydrogen war, or any shooting war whatever."

THE iron fact which must govern our future policy is that if we drift into world war over Formosa, or if we refuse to accept coexistence with the Communists for any other reason, we risk not only the destruction of our great cities but also—an equally decisive factor—the support of mankind. When we invented first the big A- and H-bomb and then the little ones, we created a compulsion toward coexistence from which there is no logical escape. But logic does not always dictate the course of events, and we are still influenced by factors which could force us into atomic war. These are an emotional reliance on closed-mind attitudes and formulas, a belief in military force instead of constructive competition, and an unwise defense of lost causes.

Since logically there must be coexistence, we should learn to accept the word even if the Communists use it. "Most Washington officials," the New York *Times* reported last week, "do not like the phrase 'peaceful coexistence' because, they say, Moscow has corrupted it by using it insincerely and misleadingly." Some of us have already abandoned the word "democracy," if not the thing itself, because the Communists insist on using it. Could anything be more childishly self-defeating? Is semantics or statesmanship to guide our foreign policy?

A writer in the London *Observer* of July 4, 1954, described the conflict with communism as "a life-and-death struggle between our world-wide living and developing society and the cancerous growth of totalitarian state power," and concluded that we must not regard coexistence as "a release from tension or a return to normal." Adlai Stevenson, speaking on October 17, recognized coexistence as unavoidable but added that "coexistence with our obnoxious, aggressive, and perfidious neighbors can never be peaceful." We need every kind of strength, he said, to cope with "evil neighbors who will relentlessly and tirelessly expand wherever they scent weakness or vulnerability."

This kind of belligerent coexistence is doubtless the only kind that is politically feasible today; yet it is doubtful that we can hold our own in a state of coexistence motivated by hostility. The editor of the very conservative London *Daily Mail* may have seen farther ahead when he said on October 13: "A new red sun is rising in the East. It holds a warning which we must heed. China has been dormant for seven hundred years because she has been disunited. Now she is once more unified; this time under communism. . . . We must match strength for strength and strive for friendship, which is something better than coexistence."

We can neither "win" the waning cold war nor coexist successfully with communism in a negative state of mind. That way lies continued decline for the West, which has already lost half the world since 1900 through its own destructive wars—it cannot be reiterated too often that we would not have communism today in Russia, Eastern Europe, or China except for the world wars which were hatched in Germany and Westernized Japan.

WE CAN coexist successfully with communism only if we substitute constructive thinking for the negations of the cold war.

1. *Let us reexamine the theses which have led us to fight the cold war.* The first is that the Reds are out to conquer the world. This has been dinned into our ears so many times that nobody dreams of questioning it. But now we must ask for the evidence, and expect something better than a quotation from Marx or Lenin, for it is upon this dogma about Soviet intentions that the argument for permanent hostility and preventive war rests.

Of course communism expects to take over the world. Every "ism" does. Some Red leaders have even defined "coexistence" as only a pause to gather strength. But ideas and expectations, desires and opportunities change each day and always will. Much that Lenin wanted was repudiated by Stalin, and many of Stalin's ideas were swiftly disavowed by his successors. So let us not leave our minds in the deep freeze of the either-or absolutes of the cold war.

We are also motivated by our fixation that communism is just a wicked conspiracy. This idea, enacted into law and almost universally accepted, is used to justify our current effort to stamp out Communist parties, supporters, and ideas in the United States.

Admittedly communism has a conspiratorial side which needs to be watched. But isn't it about time to remember that we are supposed to have a winning set of ideas of our own? If we believe in our way of life, why should we lose our self-confidence because a few individuals engage in revolutionary activities? Why, above all, should we take steps toward suppressing everybody's freedom in order to be sure of scotching a few Reds? Do we really think that the people of the old-established democracies will want to have one-party regimentation and police-state rule?

If we believe in our own system, we should also be ready to study carefully the positive appeals which communism has for undereducated, underfed peoples and for those emerging from barbarism or from feudal or colonial rule, most of whom have never known any civil liberties. Must we go on backing dying social orders all around the globe and then hunting angrily among ourselves for scapegoats when they succumb? Can we not help the many countries which have not yet gone Communist to raise their standard of living and to advance toward representative government instead of one-party dictatorship? To be specific, must we fume about the loss of China and resent Indian neutralism until India is lost?

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2. *Let us keep our own economy strong and expanding without war.* Here is the field of crucial competition with communism. We believe that our system has greater creative forces within it, but we are not sure yet that we can maintain prosperity over the long pull. There is no doubt about our enormous productivity during our three wars since 1914 when it was financed by the government. But what must we do to keep on growing without war? We know what the Russians do. The government directs the whole economy, or tries to, in peace as well as in war. Now that the pent-up post-war demand is satisfied must we resume the arms race? Or shall we try to give our own people, especially the lowest third, a higher standard of living and at the same time help less favored peoples abroad?

3. *Let us maintain strong armaments while negotiating constantly for disarmament.* No one should assume that disarmament is still a utopian dream. It can't be, after we have perfected such lethal weapons that war means obliteration. The side which first puts atomic energy to work to help humanity instead of to destroy it is likely to be the victor in the cold war, for by doing so it will both ease men's fears and give them new sources of peaceful power. There is no certainty that we can win this race. We have made a good beginning. Why not really work at it?

4. *Let us go on to greater freedom instead of to fascism.* It is here that we face the acid test which will determine whether we can compete with communism. Nothing that we have ever done has so shocked and alarmed free men everywhere as our recent hysterical hounding of fellow-Americans. They have watched with horrified astonishment the rise to power of the McCarthys and McCarrans who spend their time hunting for the professors and diplomats who "lost" China, the pink dentists who drilled holes in the national defense, the loyal citizens who were war-time allies of the Soviet Union, those who opposed fascism "too soon" or "too long," those who once belonged to the Communist Party or attended a Communist meeting—indeed, any unfortunate person, from helpless government employees to powerful bishops, who ever voiced ideas not demonstrably conservative.

This relentless passion for enforcing conformity has convinced all nations that Americans do not really believe in freedom, that they are the victims of their own propaganda, that they are immature, even that a universal paranoia has seized them. This is the real reason why we have lost the leadership of the free world in both Asia and Europe. While we were vindictively pursuing each other, the cold war played out and we did not know it. We shall not regain that leadership until we work our way back, with some penitence, to the full practice of freedom.

The practice of freedom is our greatest asset. If we stand upright in the world, thinking and living freedom, no unfree way of life can continue anywhere on the globe without being modified by our example. And if we fail to restore here a living community of upstanding free men, no hoard of atom bombs will make us respected or safe.

What we need most is leadership that would tell us we have nothing to fear except our own self-destructive proclivities—our obsessive anti-communism, our yearning to lead counter-revolution everywhere, our mania for enforcing orthodoxy and loyalty by using the great power of the government to crush dissenters. We need to be reminded that every social system is in constant evolution, that William McKinley would not know what to make of post-New Deal America, and that the next generations in Russia and China will surely modify the systems that prevail there today. In both countries the government has given two great hostages to the future—universal education and the promise of a better standard of living. As they progress toward these goals the people will develop both more independent thinking and more desire for freedom.

It would be a pity indeed if the Communist-led peoples passed us on the highway toward freedom. If we drop back, toward fascism, the whole world will eventually be Communist after convulsions worse than any we have witnessed. This is a race we were born to win. All we have to do is believe in our heritage and improve on it.

WE NOW come to an arresting final question. Which of our political parties is best fitted to lead us in peaceful competition with the Communist world? Two years ago the Democrats were clearly indicated, since the Republican platform advocated the "liberation" of the Communist satellites and both John Foster Dulles and General Eisenhower urged it. By contrast Governor Stevenson spoke courageously about the necessity of negotiation.

Today the situation has changed. The Republican Administration made peace in Korea. It refused to plunge into the Indo-China war. It has cut military expenditures to some extent and has tried to foster a prosperity not based on war. Secretary of Defense Wilson has publicly opposed those who "rattle the atomic bomb." The big-business element in the Cabinet rightly fears the disruptive social effects of another war. Moreover, there is no denying

From the London *Eastern World*

Mr. Dulles: "You mean to say that 'peaceful coexistence' includes the Communists too?"

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that the Democrats were in power when our last three wars began. It was also a Democratic President who declared the cold war, by his presence behind Churchill at Fulton, Missouri, on March 5, 1946, and by his proclamation of the Truman Doctrine on March 12, 1947.

Though some powerful Republicans want war and are violently opposed to coexistence, President Eisenhower has moderated the government's tone and is striving to be a "good partner" with our allies now that the leadership of the free world had fallen to them through the failure of containment. On the other hand, the Democrats, terrified by the charge of "softness" toward communism, appear to be as belligerent as ever. Having let the Republicans drive them into the cold war, they now seem unable to get out of it. Thus there is a strong chance that the Republicans may now emerge as the party of peace and the more dependable party to practice coexistence with the Reds.

Every Democratic leader should note that peace is breaking out in the world, that it is already popular and likely to become more so. The Democrats should realize, also, that the political party which drifts toward a third world war will be finished, and that the alternative to an atomic war is a coexistence which, on both sides, evolves from hostile acceptance into constructive competition, and eventually into cooperation through the United Nations.

There is no other way for humanity to go forward.

CHALLENGE TO CONGRESS

The Free-Trade Issue . . *by Charles P. Taft*

ALL Americans interested in national affairs have had to accept the official custom of identifying government organizations by their initials. As a matter of history, it was not the New Deal that began it but the State Department, the army, and the navy. In any case it is important to know the meaning of the mysterious initials G. A. T. T., for during the next months they will be the center of sharp Congressional controversy.

The letters stand for the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade which thirty-odd nations, including the United States, entered into at Geneva in 1947 after months of negotiation. As amended by two subsequent meetings of the signatories, the agreement has three main parts: it provides for a sketchy secretariat; it lays down certain general principles which may be regarded as the commercial "rules of the game" for trading nations; and it fixes tariff rates on innumerable items of trade goods.

President Eisenhower in his March message on trade had this to say:

> Since 1948 virtually all the major trading nations of the world, including the United States, have become parties to a General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. . . . The Commission on Foreign Economic Policy [the Randall commission] has recommended that the United States renegotiate the organizational provisions of the agreement, so that the contracting parties acting collectively would confine their functions to sponsoring multilateral trade negotiations, recommending broad trade policies for individual consideration by the legislative or other appropriate authorities in the various countries, and providing a forum for consultation regarding trade disputes. I shall act promptly upon this recommendation. At the same time I shall suggest to other contracting parties revisions of the substantive provisions of the agreement to provide a simpler, stronger instrument contributing more effectively to the development of a workable system of world trade. When the organizational provisions of the agreement have been renegotiated, they will be submitted to the Congress for approval.

The process of renegotiation is now under way in Geneva, where the G. A. T. T. signatories opened their ninth meeting on October 28. The revision of tariff rates is not on the agenda; the delegates are confining their discussion to organizational questions and a review of the general principles of international trade as set down in the agreement. However, a meeting of the signatories is scheduled for February in Geneva largely for the purpose of negotiating a multilateral trade agreement, to include Japan.

High-tariff spokesmen in the United States are strongly opposed to the G. A. T. T. Because this country's adherence to it is by "executive agreement," the G. A. T. T. has always been one of the main targets of the Bricker amendment, which would deprive the President of much of his present power to conclude various types of international accord. At hearings in Washington which preceded the departure of the American delegation to Geneva, representatives of protectionist organizations sought to give the impression that the agreement was somehow a radical departure from American tariff policy. Spokesmen for the American Tariff League called it too "complex"; others called it "totalitarian."

Actually the G. A. T. T. is simply another reciprocal-trade agreement negotiated under the authority of the Hull reciprocal Trade Agreements Act of 1934, as amended. It replaces with a single agreement all the individual bilateral accords we have made since that date, taking over the tariff changes made in the Smoot-Hawley Act from 1934 to 1947, and adds all the reductions negotiated in 1947 at Geneva and later at Annecy and Torquay. Where the G. A. T. T. differs from any prior trade agreement is that under it any concession

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made to any country, and extended to all others under the "most favored nation" clause, is no longer extended to these others for nothing but only in return for a concession to us. The G. A. T. T. eliminates what the high-tariff spokesmen have been objecting to for twenty years—namely, giving to other countries for nothing the benefit of bilateral concessions. And it includes the "escape clause" designed to protect domestic producers against injury from unforeseen sharp increases in imports.

The only new questions raised by the G. A. T. T. have to do with certain general trading principles and with proposals for setting up a formal organization to administer them. Of the trading principles embodied in the agreement the first is the adoption of the general most-favored-nation clause by all the signatories; this is clearly in the interest of the United States. Second, a blanket limitation is imposed on any additions to existing preference systems, such as those of the British and French empires and that between the United States and Cuba. This, too, is clearly in our interest. Third, certain provisions protect against new restrictive devices, such as "internal quotas," valuation schemes, customs regulations, or marks-of-origin legislation. In addition, there are general rules for the application of quotas and exchange controls, and governing subsidies, state trading, and the complex of problems connected with underdeveloped countries. All these provisions help the United States far more than they hurt.

"Notice anything up there?"

THE Committee for a National Trade Policy, which I represent, is strongly committed to the three basic purposes of the G. A. T. T. We think there is need for an organization which makes possible the *multilateral* negotiation of tariff concessions and the settlement of trade disputes. We believe in an international "fair trade" code. We favor a permanent organizational setup for research and informational purposes and to provide continuity for the consultative functions envisaged by the agreement. These three aspects of G. A. T. T. are interrelated. The ability to undertake multilateral tariff negotiations broadens America's bargaining power and increases the efficacy of any concession it may grant. The "fair trade" code can serve to secure the advantages of the concessions negotiated through it. A permanent organizational setup is the best means for obtaining adherence to the code.

The establishment of a permanent secretariat for the G. A. T. T. is essential to its effective operation. The problems that arise out of the agreement do so continually; at present no machinery is available to deal with them in the intervals between the regular meetings of the contracting parties. I was glad to note that the United States and Britain, as well as other delegations now meeting at Geneva, seem to be in agreement on this point.

One of the major subjects under renegotiation at Geneva is the treatment of underdeveloped countries. As a general rule it is better to have the same standards of behavior in international trade applied to all countries, whether they are underdeveloped or highly industrialized. It must be recognized, however, that under some circumstances exceptions from the rule are probably justified. For example, some of the underdeveloped countries feel that the obligations imposed on them by the G. A. T. T. are excessively onerous. Arguing that the agreement favored industrial countries over those dependent mainly on the export of raw materials, the Australian delegate at Geneva demanded more freedom to raise tariffs to protect young industries, freedom to negotiate new preferential arrangements, and protection against the employment by some countries of export subsidies to enlarge or even to maintain their share of world markets for agricultural products.

Where the issues are thus sharply drawn, the alternative is to let the underdeveloped countries withdraw from the G. A. T. T. or to revise the agreement to keep them in. Withdrawal from the G. A. T. T. is a most undesirable act. The problem, therefore, is really to decide what exceptions should be written into the agreement to accommodate the underdeveloped countries. My own feeling is that these countries should not be released from their obligations without prior consultation. On this issue as on others the only effective device for de-

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terring precipitate action is the provision for machinery for consultation and review.

IT IS natural that when a country imports more than it exports and lacks the foreign exchange to pay for the difference, it will tend to cut down on further imports. At one time I was sympathetic to this tendency; it was difficult to see how one could get rid of import quotas in an atmosphere of economic reconstruction and adjustment characterized by recurring and severe pressures on payment balances. But now the world's economy has come on better times. The moment is ripe for pressing vigorously for the elimination of restrictions that no longer serve any legitimate purpose and that in fact may present a barrier to more rational production patterns. When balance-of-payments crises arise, resort should be had to short-term borrowings from the International Monetary Fund rather than to import quotas.

Samuel C. Waugh, Assistant Secretary of State and chief of the American delegation at Geneva, urged the conferees "to deal firmly and positively with the question of limiting the use of protective quotas." Failure to do so, he added, might lead Americans to question the value of the G. A. T. T. and to wonder "whether there is any hope of our country's ever being able to reap the benefits anticipated from tariff concessions." The fact is that in a dollar-short world import controls are generally directed at the United States.

Just as the removal of import quotas is of primary interest to this country, so the stability of tariff rates is of special interest to other nations. At Geneva the British delegate asked in effect that the G. A. T. T. provision for the unilateral modification of duties, which is scheduled to become effective June 30, 1955, should be deferred until 1957. My own feeling is that it should be deferred indefinitely. The tariff concessions negotiated at Geneva, Annecy, and Torquay have by now been long enough in use to become firmly binding. Such modifications as special circumstances warrant can be obtained through the "escape clause" in the G. A. T. T. agreement; negotiation provides whatever other flexibility may be needed. Any additional provision for unilateral modification represents a continuing danger to the whole complex of rates. Actually no country has had to use the unilateral right since the G. A. T. T. was created, but so long as it stays in the agreement, protectionists everywhere are in a strong position to urge its use—or the threat of its use—to take back concessions or demand them without offering much in return.

The advantages to the United States of the multilateral negotiation of tariffs are clear. Those who challenge our participation in such negotiations are challenging, in effect, the whole concept of liberal trade. If one accepts the premise that liberal trade policies are to our economic advantage and are the indispensable handmaiden of our foreign policy, then one must conclude that the G. A. T. T. is necessary and desirable. Any other assumption is unrealistic and mischievous. It is my belief that we must take the lead in working for a stronger and a more effective G. A. T. T. It is not an easy task. The issues are complex and the special interests of the signatories often conflict.

The fact that American participation in the G. A. T. T. has been called into question in our own country adds to the burden which our delegation carries in Geneva. In view of this criticism the message sent by the President through Mr. Waugh to the delegates at the opening session of the Geneva meeting must have been doubly welcome. "I am convinced," Mr. Eisenhower wrote, "that economic reconstruction and growth has now reached a point in many countries to warrant the further development of the G. A. T. T., so that we may progress with even more assurance toward our ultimate objective, the objective of freer and greater world trade."

In the same letter the President indicated that he would press his foreign-trade program at the session of Congress which begins in January. We can look forward to some interesting debate.

CONSULAR CURTAIN

A Ruinous Visa Policy . . *J. Campbell Bruce*

IT IS ironical that our very fear of the Soviets has led us to insulate the United States against scientific developments abroad and thus to stifle our own scientific progress. We are doing this through the simple device of barring entry to eminent foreign scientists who may have been invited by their American colleagues to attend a conference here, deliver a lecture, or engage in research at an American university.

In recent years many international organizations have canceled scheduled meetings in the United States and held them elsewhere because of the difficulty of obtaining visas for European delegates. Some 50 per cent of the foreign scientists invited here since World War II—more than 80 per cent of the French scientists—have been denied entry or their visas have been held up beyond the deadline for their usefulness. Was it because these scientists were Communists? No proof was offered that they were; as a matter of fact, most of them were avowed anti-Communists.

Dr. Howard A. Meyerhoff, administrative secretary of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, has said: "If this trend continues, American science faces the threat not merely of becoming provincial but also of becoming atrophied to the point where the national welfare and national security

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will suffer. Security and welfare are founded on knowledge only part of which originates within the confines of the United States."

Why do we pursue a policy that is so harmful to our best interests? The answer lies in the McCarran-Walter Act, which invests consular underlings abroad with absolute power in the issuance of visas, as did the immigration law that was supplanted by the act. In a big consulate the visa section is assigned to a vice-consul, and this minor official can refuse a visa without giving any reason; what is worse, there is no appeal from his decision.

The climate of fear generated by McCarthyism enters the picture. What consular official dares risk McCarthy's censure and the ruin of his career by granting a visa to a foreign scientist who, it may later develop, had been remotely linked in the distant past to some group now considered subversive—not in his own country but in ours? It is far safer to stall or to deny a visa than to grant one.

THE result is not only to subject distinguished and learned men to humiliation but to set up an almost impenetrable consular curtain. The excluded scientists I am thinking of are not Communists. Professor Michael Polanyi, for example, distinguished British chemist and social philosopher, was denied a visa to come to the United States to teach at the University of Chicago though he has long been known as an anti-Communist. An astronomer at Lick Observatory commented recently, "Eventually the United States will become an outcast in international scientific society." Dr. Otto Struve, head of the Department of Astronomy at the University of California and president of the International Astronomical Union, says that this strange policy on visas "is doing no end of damage to this country. It is far greater than any damage or danger of a spy getting into the United States, for astronomers are not likely to be very good spies." Obviously, the policy diminishes our prestige abroad and prevents us from adding the fruits of foreign research to our pool of vital knowledge.

It also works a hardship on learned societies. The International Astronomical Union last met in the United States at Harvard in 1932 and since World War II has discussed the possibility of a return visit at every triennial gathering. It has been deterred by the visa difficulties. "We wanted to meet on the West Coast in 1948, in tribute to Palomar and its 200-inch telescope," says Dr. Struve. "We made our plans far in advance; in fact, we presented the invitation at the 1946 meeting of the executive committee

in Copenhagen. At that time the Soviet Union invited us to meet there in 1948. Both invitations were declined. Ours was later withdrawn because even then, before the McCarran Act, scientists were encountering obstacles in coming to America."

At the 1948 meeting in Zurich, the first full assembly after the war, the Soviet Union tendered an invitation to gather in Russia in 1951. This, says Dr. Struve, caused a great deal of concern. The result was a statement by the executive committee, a sort of "feeler" to the United States, that an invitation from any country would be acceptable only if assurance were given that all participating delegations—not individual delegates but delegations—would be admitted. The United States was silent on the matter, but the Soviet Union issued a formal statement that all delegations would be welcome. The Russian invitation for 1951 was then accepted. Plans for the meeting were canceled upon the outbreak of the Korean war in 1950.

The astronomers met in Italy in 1952. Again came an invitation to meet in the Soviet Union in 1955. With our visa policy now stricter than ever, the American delegation withheld an invitation. Eire came to the rescue, and the meeting next year will be in Dublin.

Early this year two American astronomers did accept the Soviet invitation to attend the dedication of the rebuilt Pulkovo Observatory, near Leningrad, which had been destroyed during the war. There is little likelihood that the Americans will be able to return their Russian colleagues' hospitality.

Where the association will meet in 1958 must be settled at Dublin. The American delegates, vexed by the visa situation, are reluctant to offer an invitation. Many European astronomers feel a Soviet invitation should now be *solicited,* as an indication of displeasure at America's visa policy. But Dr. Struve thinks some small country, whose politics are "favorable to us and not too offensive to the Soviet Union," will again come to the rescue.

"This visa policy," says Dr. Struve, "is building up the prestige of the Soviet scientists, particularly their influence in the I. A. U. Certainly that is not to the best interests of the United States. We have more able astronomers and the largest telescopes and have made the most discoveries in the past thirty or forty years. But there is a growing hostility toward us among the scientists of Western Europe and elsewhere."

A MINOR incident, significant because typical of the treatment we accord foreign scientists, was the affront to M. Minnaert, professor of astronomy at the University of Utrecht. Professor Minnaert was awarded a gold medal in 1951 by the Astronomical Society of the Pacific, and preparations were made for an elaborate ceremony of presentation at the University of California. American scientists eagerly awaited his lecture on the results of his own patient scanning of the outer universe. But the lecture was never delivered. Professor Minnaert could not get a visa to come to Berkeley, and to this day nobody—except the American consular officer who denied it—knows why. He was not a security risk; he had visited the United States several times before, the last time in 1946. And he was coming to Berkeley simply to pick up an award and deliver a lecture. There was no question of his having access to classified information.

However, he did get the gold medal. "I put it in my pocket," says Dr. Struve, "and took it to Holland and gave it to him at a small gathering of Dutch astronomers in his honor." Dr. Struve grinned at the recollection. "Perhaps I violated some law by doing that."

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LAND AND LEFTISM

Italy Below Naples . . . *by Gina Racca*

Catanzaro, Calabria

IN WHAT Italians call the *Mezzogiorno,* the region south of a line between Naples and Foggia down to the tip of the Italian boot, old structures are being torn down and new ones erected. And I am not thinking only of the slums of Naples and the cave dwellings of Matera, which are being replaced by modern low-cost housing, but of the political and social institutions of those ancient lands.

Foreign travelers, and even most Italians, seldom go much below Naples; they may take a night boat or a plane to Palermo or bask in the winter sun in Taormina, but they ignore Apulia on the Adriatic Sea with its many medieval castles and churches, Calabria with its mountainous core and miles of beaches, and Lucania, which Christ did not visit, according to Carlo Levi, because he "stopped at Eboli" before he reached that poorest of Italian provinces. The *Mezzogiorno,* once famous as the "soft underbelly of Europe," is now again in the news as a focus of Italian political instability.

Italy is an indispensable link in the system of free nations, but it still has underprivileged and undeveloped areas where Western democracy is a myth. In the industrial areas of the north, with their intensive agriculture, highly developed communications, and comparatively rich markets for consumer goods, the population is keenly alive to social and political issues. In the south, where the economy is based mainly on extensive agriculture or on small holdings insufficient to feed even a single family, where the villages are perched on mountain tops far removed from railway stations, where illiteracy reaches 25 per cent, the population is only beginning to wake up to modern realities.

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The *Mezzogiorno* is the greatest source of anxiety to the Italian government and to the Western coalition. In 1948, when Italy held its first postwar elections and the Marshall Plan was in full swing, the Christian Democrats used the slogan: "The Marshall Plan will transform the *Mezzogiorno* into an Italian California." Five years later, after the expenditure of almost a hundred billion lire (about $160,000,000) on roads, bridges, dams, land reclamation, reforestation, and agrarian reform, the region was still no California, and the Communists and Left Socialists were able in 1953 to obtain more than 34 per cent of its votes. How did they manage it?

THE city of Crotone on the shore of the Ionian Sea has a Communist mayor who boasts that every one of his party "activists" controls ten people in the community. Any time he wants he can fill the public squares with crowds so large and noisy that the politicians in Rome must take notice of them. Recently the government allotted 75,000,000 lire to the municipality for a new sewer; naturally the mayor is boasting that the money would never have been forthcoming without Communist pressure. For whatever the southern Italian lacks —and he lacks many things—the government is blamed. For whatever is done in his behalf by the government the Communists take credit.

It is a tactic which generally works, but there are exceptions. On a recent visit to Bari, Matera, Crotone, and Catanzaro I talked with many farmers who, thanks to the agrarian-reform laws, had moved from caves or huts where they had slept six and seven to a room, with a pig or chickens for company, into neat farmhouses with living-room, two bedrooms, kitchen, shower, porch, and nearby stable. One man candidly confessed: "Yes, we all used to vote Communist, but now that the government has given us this nice house and ten acres of land, it wouldn't be right."

Despite instances such as this, the extreme right is fighting land reform as an example of "creeping communism," an opinion not shared by the government, which approved a land-reform measure in 1950. The reforms now in effect, however, are terribly inadequate, as a few statistics will indicate. Italy's twenty-two million farmers own altogether about fifty million acres of land. If the land were evenly divided, each farmer would own one-quarter acre. But until recently more than 500 landlords owned holdings of more than 2,500 acres each, and another 15,000 owned a minimum of 250 acres each.

Expropriations under the land-reform law began in 1951, and so far 58,000 families have been settled on estates once owned by 2,500 landlords. Allotments range from five acres of fertile, irrigated land to twenty-five or thirty acres of poor arid land. With the land and house go a cow, chickens, sometimes a pig or mule, seed for the first crops, fertilizer, and a few tools.

All this has to be paid for by the settler, but according to the government the terms are very generous. Most settlers get thirty years to pay an average total of two million lire (about $3,000); payments begin at about $18 a year and never rise higher than $100 a year. Even so the settlers often find the payments too much for their slender budgets, and the Communists argue that the land reform has changed nothing for the farmers except their landlords—they are now paying the government instead of a rich proprietor. Another touchy aspect of the law is the selection of beneficiaries. For every available plot and house there are hundreds of applications; for the one fortunate family, hundreds feel let down. In making allotments it is doubtless true that government parties, and especially the Christian Democrats, try to favor their own people, but as one government official

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admitted, such favoritism is impossible in areas where Communists are strong.

THE question remains: Does land reform encourage or discourage the growth of leftism in an area like the *Mezzogiorno?* Leftist voting strength certainly began to decline in 1952, when redistribution was undertaken in earnest, and I am convinced that if conditions are still unstable, it is because there has been too little land reform. In Calabria a baron owns an olive grove of 40,000 trees; vineyards extending for mile on mile belong to a single family. Under the present law cultivated land cannot be divided. A young Calabrian priest told me: "It is a miracle that our peasants are not 100 per cent Communist when you consider their poverty and the injustices and unequal distribution of wealth that prevail in this part of the country." And in a coffee house in Crotone a Communist queried me about workers' conditions in America and said with a deep sigh: "That's it. In America workers have so much they don't *need* to be Communists."

A new and more radical land-reform bill is now before the Italian Parliament, but it has not the slightest chance of passage in the near future. The ties between the Italian ruling groups and the southern landowners are still too strong. Here is a problem that the United States, disturbed by the continued strength of the Italian left, has need to ponder.

Experiment in the South

by A. G. Mezerik

Monteagle, Tenn.

THE South's first interracial "workshop" on the United Nations was held recently at Highlander Folk School. Here, atop a mountain in Tennessee, a Negro bus operator from South Carolina, a young man from Travencore, India, a judge from the Cumberland plateau, students from Fisk, a Negro university, and the white University of Tennessee, union men, farmers, and educators gathered to talk about the U. N. and to decide what they could do to support it, if they approved of it.

When the week started, most of the groups had only a hazy notion of what the U. N. was. Their preconception of it as either sinister or beneficial depended on the information, or lack of it, which had seeped down to such places as Greenville, Alabama; Charleston, South Carolina; Edenton, North Carolina; Tallahassee, Florida; and Tracy City, Tennessee—a few of the many post-office addresses on the registry. As they listened and talked in the Highlander rough-hewn library or in a classroom which doubles as a dining-room, they discovered that the U. N. was related to their own experience. Their little multiracial group, as the week progressed, became a unity—not just a gathering of individuals. They were no longer conscious of dividing skin colors and accents.

Fred Bennett, from Alabama's black belt, brought one part of the story into focus. A family farmer, Fred carried to Highlander the ancient belief that if the need arose he could lock his front gate and, self-sufficient in his isolation, get along fine. But after a couple of days he told the others that he had changed his mind somewhat. Up the U. N. road a piece Fred found the Food and Agriculture Organization and learned about cooperatives, and realized that the latter could be a sorely needed method of increasing his bargaining power. A little farther along he decided that the hungry peoples of the world and this country's huge farm surpluses—part of which he produced—were both very much his business, and that he could only transact this particular business through the U. N. Proceeding from that hunger and those surpluses, Fred Bennett discovered the International Children's Fund and a way of satisfying his yearning to help the downtrodden. No one could doubt his sincerity when, after the evening meal, with the dishes cleared, Fred lifted his warm voice, together with the other students, in singing the spirituals which tell of his people's years of slavery.

Esau Jenkins, community leader of John's Island, South Carolina, listened intently to the discussion of a subject which the U. N. General Assembly lists as "The Question of Race Conflict in South Africa Resulting from the Policies of Apartheid in South Africa." He understood what was going on in South Africa, for segregation and race discrimination are familiar to him. He was deeply disturbed that the U. N. had been able to do so little about it.

The county judge, a mountaineer all his life, contended that the whole idea of the U. N. was wrong. "You can't trust the Russians; they'll never keep an agreement." His neighbor, Julie Mabee, workshop director, and Myles Horton, Highlander's dynamic founder, grappled with that one. An answer was found in the Tennessee hills. Not many years ago union organizers in the coal mines were met by machine-guns. Mine owners made the rules and broke them at will. Today those same mine owners live up to agreements into which they have freely entered. They may still own the machine-guns, but they don't use them anymore.

The judge remembered how things used to be, as did other workshop participants, themselves veterans of union struggles and employers' strong-arm methods. Their recognition of the change helped them decide that it might be well to take a chance on Russia's word, if an international agreement could be reached.

That is how this workshop in the Cumberlands found its way to understanding the U. N.—almost always by relating U. N. activities to matters previously understood. The nebulous desire for peace became concrete as a Fisk student spoke of his ambition to work with foreign student groups and of his interest in UNESCO. "I'll have to get started quick," he said, "before I'm drafted."

Eager to lend their support to the U. N. the students, characteristically, determined to begin at home—by demanding an end to segregation in Southern groups working for the U. N.—for example, some chapters of the American Association for the United Nations. That, they thought, should be the first step in integrating the South with the United Nations.

A. G. MEZERIK is the editor of the International Review Service and author of "Pursuit of Plenty" and other books.

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BOOKS

Dance of the Hobgoblins

REALITIES OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. By George F. Kennan. Princeton University Press. $2.75.

THE LIMITS OF FOREIGN POLICY. By Charles Burton Marshall. Henry Holt and Company. $3.

POWER AND POLICY. By Thomas K. Finletter. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $5.

By Frederick L. Schuman

LAWRENCE DENNIS in his weekly letter *The Appeal to Reason*, aptly commented last spring that Secretary Dulles's notion of diplomacy was first to shake his fist, next to shake his finger, and then to shake all over. An America unused to "world leadership" alternates between illusions of omnipotence and spasms of fright when facts refute fancies. When told that issues are never black or white but gray, Americans see red. In quest of total security they recurrently feel themselves reeling on the brink of total catastrophe.

George F. Kennan, who has long rendered yeoman service in the cause of rationality, here offers us the four Stafford Little lectures delivered at Princeton last March. He begins by arguing that foreign policy is not an end but a means. The Founding Fathers were concerned with preserving a way of life based on individual rights. Through realistic diplomacy they sought safety for their values. Foreign policy was therefore "very modest and restrained," with no lofty pretensions of moral superiority, no "messianic tendencies," and no "belief that we had ideological answers to everybody else's problems." Only much later did we begin pursuing utopias—arbitration, disarmament, outlawry of war, and other panaceas, leading in our latest disillusionment to a schizophrenic dichotomy in American minds between a friendly world of sane neighbors and a nightmare world of Red devils bent upon our doom.

In his search for reality Kennan notes, with his usual perspicacity, that contemporary American policy has tended to ignore the necessary relationship between power and responsibility in sponsoring pious resolutions, mobilizing U. N. majorities of impotent small countries, relying fatuously on "morality as a general criterion for the determination of the behavior of states," and aiming at popularity through hand-outs. As for Russia, we confuse hostile attitudes with aggressive intentions. "I have never seen any evidence that the Soviet leaders have at any time desired a general war." In a penetrating reassessment of America's course he shows that "liberation" is folly. Hysteria over Soviet bombs is worse. Effective "containment" and promotion of freedom cannot be had through military measures alone and still less through domestic witch-hunting, but only through a deeper dedication to the purposes we want America to symbolize before mankind.

IN A voice softer but equally eloquent, Charles Burton Marshall, then a member of the Policy Planning Staff of the State Department (to which Kennan formerly belonged), delivered five lectures of similiar import at Hollins College a year ago. As "a precious contribution to reason," in Adlai Stevenson's evaluation, they richly merit publication. With grace and humor Burt Marshall lucidly reappraises the past and present and reminds us of much that many of us have forgotten—for example, that it is not the function of foreign policy to inaugurate the millennium; America is neither all-wise nor all-powerful; the world is full of foreigners with wills of their own; the efficacy of military force is transitory; the test of policy is utility, not perfectionism; inflated expectations and enthusiasms are vain; successful coalitions rest on consent; listening is more important than talking; inflexible formulas are futile in human affairs; restraint and compassion are practical virtues, even in diplomacy; and so on.

THAT Americans need to be told these things is an ironic commentary on our national state of mind. That the reminders still evoke little response, even among the more intelligent of our policy-makers, is amply demonstrated by Thomas K. Finletter, able lawyer whose public career began with his appointment in 1941 as special assistant to the Secretary of State. "Power and Policy," subtitled "U. S. Foreign Policy and Military Power in the Hydrogen Age," purports to be an analysis of American defense, the struggle against communism in the "gray areas" beyond NATO, United States military policy, and the search for peace. Actually it is a journalistic jumble and an unintentional venture into the poorer sort of amazing science fiction, interspersed with some informative passages and some useful distinctions between "aspirations" and "precepts" in foreign policy. The whole is woven around a familiar thesis which is appalling in its obsolescence and remarkable only because it resembles the national credo.

By 1956, runs the argument, Russia will have "supremacy in air-atomic power," meaning capacity to destroy America in a sneak attack. This, of course, is what Russia plans to do, since Russia's rulers are obviously monsters of total depravity. Immediate preventive war is attractive but impractical. Negotiated settlement is unthinkable, because we cannot compromise with wickedness and we must strive to "liberate" the "slaves." All is therefore lost—*unless* we build up massive deterrent and retaliatory weapons capable of destroying Russia. The function of armaments—like that of all armaments through the ages, though the author appears unaware of this—is not to wage war but to keep peace by frightening the enemy. It is "intolerable" that our survival should be at Russia's mercy. (Unstated corollary: it is tolerable and indeed imperative for Russia's survival to be at our mercy.) The remedy, fortunately, is simple: twenty billion dollars a year for the air force! (Let the reader who may not recall try to guess what branch of the armed forces Finletter was Secretary of,

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1950-53.) We shall then be safe and can proceed, somewhat incongruously, to champion "enforced disarmament."

Although Finletter and his fellow-retaliators seem innocent of such knowledge, all this is identical with the "peace program" of the British Navy League before 1914: "Defense consists of being so strong that it will be dangerous for your enemy to attack you." The German Navy League said the same, echoing the English spinster who remarked: "We ought to build our navy up to double the size of theirs if they build theirs up to the point they say they will if we build ours up!" "Is it not about time," asked Norman Angell, "that each nation abandoned the somewhat childish assumption that things which would never frighten or deter it will frighten and deter its rivals?" The year of the question was 1910. The answer in 1954: not yet.

The Finletter thesis, to be sure, has this merit: the certainty of mutual thermonuclear annihilation may well deter all governments from total war, by the same logic which produced a change of mind on the part of the fabled duelist who challenged Lincoln—Abe proposed shotguns at five paces. Avoidance of disaster does depend, precariously, upon a parity of power between the Free World and the Red Empire. But the alternative to war is peace. The method of peace among sovereignties is diplomacy. Finletter has not the foggiest notion of the limits and possibilities of diplomacy, nor have most of his counterparts in the State Department. These lessons contemporary America has still painfully to learn.

The common denominator of these books comes, I believe, to this: Congress, press, and public are indifferent to problems of defense and foreign policy unless they are scared half to death with hobgoblins or rendered frenetic with fantasies of saving the world from sin. Finletter fears indifference and joins the chorus of scaremongers in order to overcome it. Kennan and Marshall fear frenzy and panic, and seek to persuade their readers to reason. Americans, in short, are still too immature to discharge their global responsibilities safely and successfully. Two of these volumes, if widely read and pondered, will be invaluable guideposts toward maturity.

A Housewife on the Atom

ATOMS IN THE FAMILY: MY LIFE WITH ENRICO FERMI. By Laura Fermi. The University of Chicago Press. $4.

By Earl Ubell

THINGS looked pretty bleak for Laura Capon in 1927. A young Roman, Enrico Fermi, in whom she had a particular girlish interest had declared to his friends that he would soon do something definitely extravagant and contrary to his conservative nature—either buy an automobile or take a wife. In September, alas, he bought an all-yellow car, a Bebe Peugeot. Laura decided on a career, never to marry.

But this little man, who was to become an atomic artificer extraordinary, fashioning atom and hydrogen bombs for an America that received him when Mussolini threatened his family, indulged in an even greater extravagance than the car. He married Laura in July, 1928. How he came to this decision, Lauri Fermi, with Old World tact, declines to tell in this delightful book about many domestic and a few atomic adventures in her life with one of the giants in physics of this century.

Seeing Fermi through his wife's eyes made me wonder a little why he was so great, although we get a few clues. He is a hard worker; he gets good ideas and has the training to work them out to a conclusion; he is a good experimenter and a master theorist. Perhaps we miss the flavor of genius because Mrs. Fermi covers the physics with more emphasis on the fun it was to the scientists than on the impact of the discoveries.

Fermi and an incredibly versatile group of boys in a Fascist-sponsored school of physics in Rome succeeded in transforming elements one into another with slow neutrons—the basic process of the atomic pile that is creating a revolution in biology, chemistry, and physics research. Later he made huge contributions to the theory of physics, contributions now being felt in every corner of

EARL UBELL is science editor of the New York Herald Tribune.

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modern science. Laura Fermi deals with these things mostly in terms of human drama. And good drama it is too. She dwells deliciously on the whole crew of atomic physicists, many of them bequeathed to this country by fascism—Neils Bohr, Robert Oppenheimer, Edward Teller, Hans Bethe, and Harold Urey. For spice she adds vignettes of Bruno Pontecorvo, who defected to the Soviets, and of the master spy, Klaus Fuchs.

About Teller she is interesting. The Hungarian who has been presented, improperly I believe, as the sole creator of the hydrogen bomb, had his doubts about entering arms work in World War II, Mrs. Fermi reports. She says he was convinced by a Roosevelt radio speech. Then, she says, "to the uranium project he brought all the theoretical contributions his mind could possibly yield." Not so, Mrs. Fermi, not so. During the Oppenheimer security hearings Dr. Bethe told how difficult it was to get Teller to go along with his group and how Teller finally left the theoretical division. Besides, what kind of guy plays the grand piano at midnight in a wooden apartment house at Los Alamos where scientists want to sleep so that they can be up early to do some work? Mrs. Fermi tells the story charitably with a kind edge of hindsight humor.

About Oppenheimer she has little to say except that he was a fine, sensitive, brilliant director. She dwells more on some of the lesser characters at Los Alamos. Perhaps she was influenced by the social relationships of the scientists' wives rather than by the prominence of the men in the project—she never mentions having met Mrs. Oppenheimer, although there are many other wives in her tale.

So it goes: we get a housekeeping woman's charming chatter of Fermi, his friends, his work. This war-time laboratory was no holiday resort, and the comforts were few—barracks living, isolation, prison-like security regulations, lack of water, and the press of the same people day after day. "[We were] a high-strung bunch of men, women, and children. High-strung because the altitude affected us, because our men worked long hours under unrelenting pressure; high-strung because we were too many of a kind, too close to one another, too unavoidable even during relaxation hours, and we were all crackpots; high-strung because we felt powerless under strange circumstances, irked by minor annoyances that we blamed on the army and that drove us to unreasonable and pointless rebellion."

Mrs. Fermi is fine when she is reacting to the people and things around her and pretty awful when she invades politics. I think she does her husband a disservice in interpreting his political views. Fermi, she says, did not join the Federation of American Scientists, which sought to promote public understanding of scientific ideas and to have atomic energy placed under international control, because, among other reasons, he did not think that "in 1945 mankind was ripe for world government"! She neatly avoids telling us Fermi's reasons for urging that the first A-bomb be used on a city rather than in a demonstration.

Bard in a Pub

SUNSET AND EVENING STAR. By Sean O'Casey. The Macmillan Company. $4.75.

By Harold Clurman

PERHAPS this book, presumably the last of six constituting an informal autobiography, should be reviewed as many music critics do symphonies—by quoting the musical text. Nothing, it seems to me, can quite convey the feel of O'Casey's writing—and thinking—except the text itself. Despite the many faults which might "legitimately" be found in it, it is, I am convinced, great writing.

O'Casey writes as he feels—not as a thinker but as a poet, and less as a poet than as a bard. If one views everything O'Casey writes in this book in terms of arguments, explanations, judgments—that is, in prose terms—one may easily become exasperated. Many people will be, anyway. It is not simply that in many instances one would disagree with O'Casey but that one would find oneself as stumped and speechless as one is when assailed by the eloquent expletives of a brilliant drunk or an imaginative and irate woman. O'Casey lashes out with a resounding series of epithets all highly colorful, melodious, and complex, leaving one dazzled, delighted, and dumbfounded all at the same time. The result is not reason and can only be comprehended emotionally—as with music.

Still, music *has* a meaning. So does O'Casey. But the meaning of music, as of O'Casey, cannot be measured by reducing its details to formulas: it is the whole line, rhythm, texture, body, spirit of it that create its significance.

O'Casey is a rambunctious humanitarian—repetitiously roaring, singing, joking, jeering, kidding, dreaming, exhorting, constantly spilling out his vibrant love of life and hatred of everything inhibitory, niggling, negative in the arts, in politics, in religion, and in social custom. If you challenge such a man point by point you are not only lost, you are a fool. He is not subtle, so it is silly to be subtle with him. You must say yea to him or nay. And if you say nay to him, then you are doomed.

O'Casey's language is full of lovely alliterations, inspired and uproarious puns, tender lyrics, mad limericks, and a mighty incoherence which nevertheless retains great clarity within it. It is intensely personal and private—in the manner characteristic of the Irish intellectual movement from Yeats's time onward—and yet because of its peculiarly strident parochialism it makes us realize more intimately and intensely some of the general problems we in other parts of the world consider so impersonally. (One of the great contributions made by O'Casey's best plays, the early ones, is that through them we are able to sense the familiar or "homey" aspects of practically every modern revolutionary period.)

He seems at moments to hate Ireland; yet he is Irish in his every breath. He strikes out wildly at institutional religion; yet he is deeply religious. He rants at enthroned and embattled Culture, and continually reveals the keenest awareness of every expression of our higher faculties. He who seems to be bursting with rebellious indignation is essentially all love. "And who can claim a share in God," O'Casey asks apropos of T. S. Eliot, "who does not take the part of man?"

HAROLD CLURMAN is The Nation's *drama critic.*

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Selected New Books

Miscellaneous

TURGENEV. By David Magarshack. Grove Press. $6. The facts about Turgenev's family life, love affairs, and relations with other writers are worked into a clear portrait of a gentle, kind, and troubled artistocrat. Mr. Magarshack's excellent treatment of the man makes one wish he had devoted more than token attention to his art.

JOAN OF ARC. By Lucien Fabre. Translated by Gerard Hopkins. McGraw-Hill. $5. In this biography the humble peasant girl becomes the central figure of a wide patch of French history. The author's affection for his subject and his vivid accounts of character and action make what is essentially a work of authentic and detailed scholarship as readable as a novel.

THE BLOOMSBURY GROUP. By J. K. Johnstone. Noonday Press. $5. A thorough and informative but routine study of the important intellectual circle which included E. M. Forster, Lytton Strachey, and Virginia Woolf is weighed down by stretches of badly integrated summary and quotation.

AS FINE AS MELANCTHA. By Gertrude Stein. Yale. $5. This collection of unpublished work by Miss Stein gives the impression of an endless game of *corps exquis,* but it will please those for whom time cannot wither nor custom stale her infinite monotony.

THE EMPEROR'S CLOTHES. By Kathleen Nott. Indiana. $4. Although the logical analysis to which it subjects the orthodoxy of T. S. Eliot and other literary religionists cannot really destroy beliefs based on faith, this book is a vigorous, sound, and welcome reassertion of the scientific position and the liberal principles based on it.

THE WORLD OF ODYSSEUS. By M. I. Finley. Viking. $3. A clear, informal account of what is known about the daily life and customs of Homeric times provides the "Iliad" and "Odyssey" with a useful factual backdrop.

JACOB KORG

Films

Robert Hatch

THE difference between an inevitable tragedy and a predictable mess is often unclear to modern storytellers. They tell of victims instead of heroes, and this gives tragedy a bad name, for few sensations are less agreeable or profitable than having one's withers wrung for insufficient cause. Instead of being cathartic, the experience is merely enervating.

A case in point is the workmanlike British film adaptation of Graham Greene's "The Heart of the Matter." This picture was made by London Films, mostly on location in West Africa, with Trevor Howard in the central role and Elizabeth Allan and Maria Schell playing the two women in his life.

Harry Scobie, for fifteen years a deputy inspector in the British colonial police, is one of those men who are exquisitely conscious of their own integrity. They care for it and display it with the same quiet pride they feel about the hard-earned insignia on their uniforms —such men are often to be found in uniform. They are, as is obvious to anyone who comes to know them, exceedingly fragile members of responsible society.

Scobie has an unassailable professional record and is the most loyal and patient of husbands; his wife is a nagging neurasthenic—she knows him well. In the few weeks spanned by the events of the picture this virtuous man has accepted a bribe, fallen victim to blackmail, betrayed his duty, committed adultery, and ended up alone with a loaded pistol. What happens between him and the pistol is deliberately fogged by the movie makers, who do not wish to offend anyone unnecessarily, but it is safe to assume that he is intent upon suicide. All this could have been an astonishing tragedy to the friends and associates of Mr. Scobie; but to the watchers in the audience it is neither surprising nor tragic. Are we to be detained by stories that tell us no more than that miserable fellows are likely to come to miserable ends?

Aside from its central flaw "The Heart of the Matter" is a well-constructed film. It proceeds sharply along its narrative path, its cast is capably persuasive, and both its sets and its dialogue ring true. Whether or not there was more to Greene's Scobie than survives in his translation to the screen I do not know, for I have not read the book. But from other occasions I know that Greene has a tendency to stage desperate moral conflicts with characters of insufficient moral stature to give the struggle much general importance.

ANOTHER British picture (Rank) dealing—very handsomely in color—with morals in the tropics is a new filming of "The Beachcomber," with Robert Newton, England's most alarming impersonator of hairy scoundrels, in the title role. The Maugham story seems to have been brightened up considerably since Laughton played the part a few years ago; it is now thoroughly whimsical and succeeds in making vice and virtue look equally good fun. The great treat in "The Beachcomber" is to see how the ferociously blasphemous remittance man, when at last he forswears booze and native girls, is rewarded with the pure but full-blooded love of as plump a missionary (Glynis Johns) as ever brought the doxology to the heathen.

"The Beachcomber" is set on an island in the Indian Ocean, and its cameras are fortunate in catching more glimpses of the fauna than I have seen in any picture since "King Solomon's Mines." I suspect again that someone has been carting the beasts in by the carload. There is even a fight to the death between an elephant and a crocodile, a contest so unlikely that it would have delighted a Roman Caesar or Frank Buck. I would not indorse the scenes of island village life without advice of an anthropologist, but this is not vital, since the picture brazenly admits that its only value is its face value. On that cynical level it is good fun, and innocent enough if it doesn't teach young girls that drunken bums make exemplary husbands.

A BELATED note on "Mr. Hulot's Holiday": This French picture is being widely touted as a side-splitting comedy, an insufficient description of a remarkably acute essay in satirical characterization. The film is certainly funny, but the

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point of the joke is dipped in vinegar.

Mr. Hulot, as conceived by Jacques Tati, is a man at once completely benevolent and completely self-centered; painfully shy but remorselessly set on carrying out his own small projects. He is a romantic in a deadly real world, an object of good-natured fun or a maddening nuisance, depending on how often one trips over his ineptitudes. It is a type that everyone has met, though he does not abound. And the same is true of the people with whom he collides on his brief seashore vacation; they are recognizable without being familiar, funny without being particularly attractive.

The film bears down hard on the aching monotony of middle-class recreation; with a wonderful disdain, the editor cuts his episodes at the moment when the slapstick climax is about to erupt. Whoever planned this really excellent picture is an alert, witty observer of his fellows; I shouldn't want him to observe me.

Records

B. H. Haggin

THE Ballets Espagnols Teresa and Luisillo feature as a novelty the use of traditional Spanish dance in dramatic ballets, "Luna de Sangre" and "El Prisoniero"; but for me the important feature is the excellence of the dancing, whether in these pieces or in the non-dramatic ones; and by excellence I mean, among other things, the restraint and quiet, as against the flashy dancing of José Greco and his company. It is a smaller company with younger dancers whose seriousness and dignity were attractive in the numbers in which they circled about each other with haughty stares, but who were most engaging in the later numbers in which they were called on to dance for fun—the Jota, and the final "Cafe Flamenco." And near the end there was the comic performance which Maria Vivo made out of her singing of a song about some agitating experience, with a rhetoric of eloquently confiding gestures that were funny as real communication to those who did understand the words, and equally funny as ostensible communication to those like myself who did not.

COLUMBIA ML-4876 offers Beethoven's Cello Sonatas Op. 102 No. 2 and Op. 5 No. 1, and ML-4878 the Sonatas Op. 102 No. 1 and Op. 69, played by Casals and Serkin. The slow movement of Op. 102 No. 2 is one of the high points in Beethoven's writing; and Casals's playing in this movement in the pre-war performance that Victor never issued here—above all his inflection and timing of the cello's comments on the piano's statements when the opening section returns, and the cello's announcement of the theme of the concluding fugue—is one of the highest points in the performer's art in my experience. It was therefore the first thing I listened to in the new performances, with the expectation of hearing again, as in other recent performances, even more powerfully sustained tone and phrasing than in the old one; and I was amazed to hear unsteady tone and timing that did not give the cello's phrases the tension and shape they had in the old performance. This turned out to be true also of certain sustained cello phrases in Op. 69—e. g. the ones in the so-called second subject of the finale. And throughout these two works one hears in the new performances neither the compact and rounded tone nor the completely achieved and contained shaping of phrase, nor consequently the effect and meaning, that is to be heard in the old ones. In Op. 102 No. 1, however, Casals's new performance can stand comparison with the old. And I should add that anyone who doesn't know the old performances of Op. 69 and 102 No. 2 will find Casals's playing in the new ones powerfully effective and moving. As for Serkin, striving for power commensurate with Casals's, he achieves mere loudness and crudeness. I see that RCA Victor has at last reissued a couple of the old Cortot-Thibaud-Casals performances; perhaps it can be induced to reissue those Casals-Horszowski and Casals-Schulhof performances of Beethoven's sonatas. Meanwhile there are the Fournier-Schnabel performances, in which the piano parts are played with revealing clarity and force, and the cello parts are played very beautifully, though not with the power and meaning Casals gave them.

Columbia ML-4862 offers one of Bach's finest instrumental works, the Sonata No. 3 for violin and clavier, in an excellent violin-and-piano performance by Stern and Zakin that is to be preferred to the violin-and-harpsichord performance of Menuhin and Landowska with its ponderously slow tempos, Menuhin's coarse tone, and Landowska's pounding. Stern also plays an engaging early Sonata in G minor and a Partita in E minor with a good opening Allegro and Adagio. The same Partita (called Sonata this time) gets a different and better performance on Concert Hall 1174—the differences being that Rostal plays the figuration of the opening Allegro with more musical sensitiveness and the sustained melody of the Adagio with more lyricism, and that the bass is more effectively realized by cello and harpsichord. Rostal also plays superbly a fine Tartini Concerto in G minor with the Winterthur Symphony under Goehr, and an impressive Passacaglia for unaccompanied violin by H. I. F. von Biber.

London LL-1049 offers Schubert's beautiful Octet Op. 166 for strings and winds played by the Vienna Octet, a group of excellent musicians from the Vienna Philharmonic whose ensemble playing has a balance and clarity, a refinement and subtlety of phrasing and tone, that make it a delight to hear. The more astonishing, therefore, is the bad taste of the enormous retardation in measures 36 to 39 and the enormous pause before 40, in the third movement.

Of Bloch's String Quartet No. 3, played well by the Griller Quartet on London LS-840, I like only the Adagio and the one or two slow episodes in the other movements.

London LL-1034 offers Mozart's Symphony K.504 ("Prague") played by Solti with the London Symphony. I find his tempos for the allegro movements a little slow, but the performance otherwise good. The recorded sound of the violins is a little dry.

I listened to most of the first movement of Shostakovitch's Symphony No. 10 as performed by Mravinsky with the Leningrad Philharmonic on Concert Hall

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1313, which was reason enough to go no further. But then I received Columbia's announcement of its forthcoming recording of the work, with quotations of the portentous pronouncements about it by Mr. Downes and his colleagues; and so I listened to the entire work and learned again to pay no attention either to Shostakovitch or to Mr. Downes and his colleagues.

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Letters

(Continued from inside front cover)

the part teaching played in Felix Cohen's life and the role of the philosophy of law in bringing unity to his diverse activities, has undertaken to accept contributions for the endowment of a "Felix S. Cohen Prize in Legal Philosophy," to be awarded annually by the Yale Law School to a student for the outstanding essay or other original contribution in the field of legal philosophy; the endowment of a similar prize at the City College of New York; and a portrait of Felix Cohen to be executed by Joseph Margulies and to be presented to City College.

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FELIX S. COHEN COMMITTEE
New York

Any Answer, Mr. Fenton?

Dear Sirs: One might have expected to find Frank Fenton's Hollywood's Message in a Hearst slick; it was startling to find *The Nation* (issue of November 13) giving space to such provincial flippancy, distortions of fact, and calculated anti-intellectualism. It would have been understandable had *The Nation* printed the piece as a dolorous commentary on the low level to which current thinking in Hollywood has sunk, but to present it for the serious consideration of your readers is very puzzling.

Surely *The Nation* cannot agree with Fenton that before the investigations ". . . messages from Hollywood were always quite innocuous—like the Gilbert-Garbo kiss . . . or the fight in 'The Spoilers'." Editors and readers of *The Nation* will surely remember the works of Chaplin, from "The Immigrant" to "Monsieur Verdoux," which in their combination of sharp social commentary and great artistry lifted Hollywood by its bootstraps above its own mediocrity to a position of world respect. Films like "The Grapes of Wrath," along with scores of others less prominent but with equally serious intent, sought to convey what Fenton ignores or cannot see, a realistic reflection in dramatic, humanist terms of various aspects of American life. LESTER COLE
New York

Case of Overshooting

Dear Sirs: Thank you and Scrutineer for his article in your October 30 issue. There is no doubt that censorship may at times seem a necessary procedure. There is equally no doubt that it all too frequently overshoots its mark and makes itself ridiculous. It is refreshing and heartening to find a Scrutineer who can put his finger and his pen on the silly stuff. "More power to his elbow!"
New Haven, Conn. CHARLES G. MORRIS

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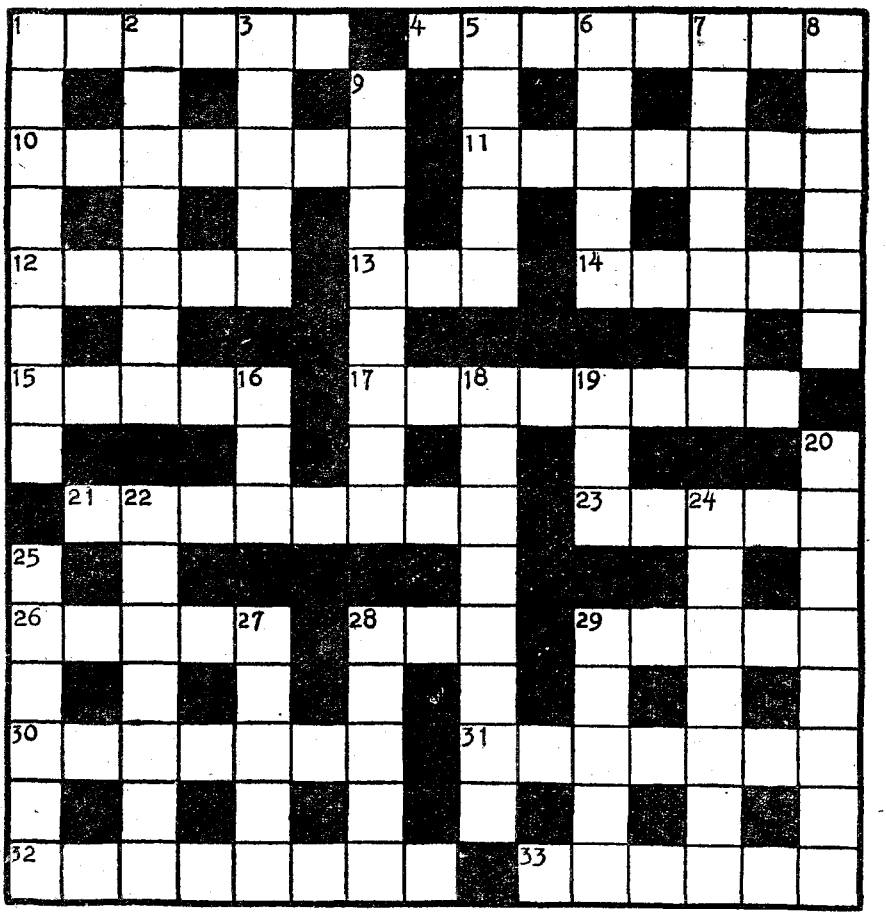
Crossword Puzzle No. 595

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1, 28 across, and 4. If you're the judge, do you expect a witness? (2, 4, 3, 3, 5)
10 See 23 across.
11 A silly ending to the wrong tune along the Adriatic. (7)
12 Obviously there's little money when times are bad. (5)
13 See 25 down.
14 See 15 across.
15, 14 and 29 down. The job of dressing the Musketeers? (5, 2, 3, 5)
17 Point, but not period. (8)
21 Yields to a broken leg in the water. (8)
23 and 10. Ideal method of communication for a man of few words. (5, 7)
26 These are often detected out-of-doors. (5)
28 See 1 across.
29 Face an embankment when this sort of tree has a famous sign in it. (5)
30 German historian, or American theologian. (7)
31 Does he make a blemish, or cover it over? (7)
32 The haves might, compared with the have-nots. (8)
33 This animal is doubly agreeable. (3–3)

DOWN

1 Slightly less than a three-time burner. (8)
2 More secure. (7)
3 Places in which to lie. (5)
5 The sort of hen that is a poet. (5)
6 Permit an implication of emptiness. (2, 3)
7 Just plumb! (7)
8 Pumpers, perhaps. (6)
9 You might make this thing act conversational. (8)
16 The part of the mule that doesn't get off the ground. (3)
18 Birds use this for pay. (8)
19 See 25 down.
20 Tax-exempt. (4–4)
22 Period, but not point. (7)
24 Plain, and not quite the Georgia type. (7)
25, 13, 19. Suggests a horse with foot trouble. (4, 2, 3, 3)
27 The boat sounds like the framework. (5)
28 Fabricated from the whole cloth, or made into it. (5)
29 See 15 across.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 594

ACROSS:—1 PHOTOENGRAVER; 10 OUTWARD; 11 OUTSTAY; 12 SEDENTARY; 13 MEETS; 14 HOMING; 16 PANTRIES; 19 TALLOWED; 20 SCOTTI; 22 BACON; 23 IDEOLOGIC; 25 SALTERN; 26 KETTLES; 27 CROSSHATCHING.

DOWN:—2 HATED; 3 TRAIN ANNOUNCERS; 4 END MAN; 5 GOODYEAR; 6 AUTOMATIC CLUTCH; 7 EXTREMIST; 8 NOT SO HOT; 9 AYES; 15 MOLECULAR; 17 SUITCASE; 18 PERIANTH; 21 BECKET; 22 BASS; 24 GALEN.

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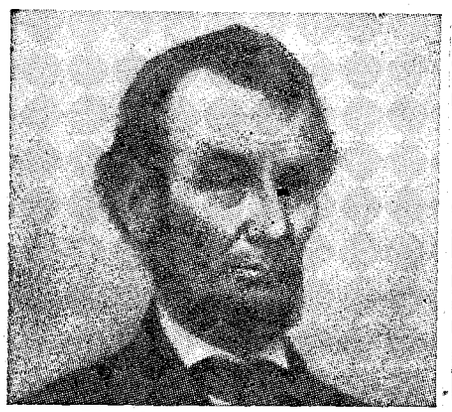
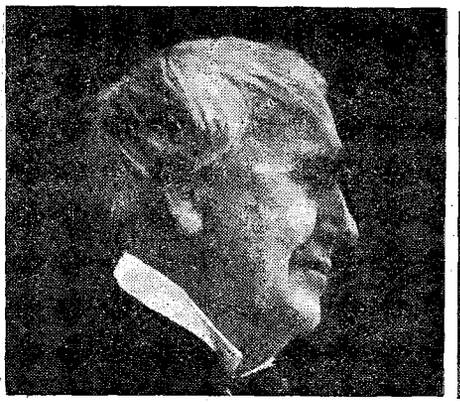


Lincoln: "I never tire of reading Paine."



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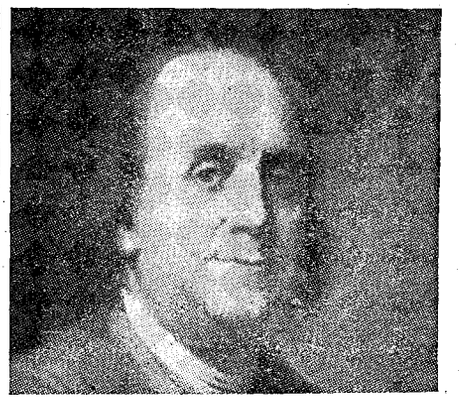

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